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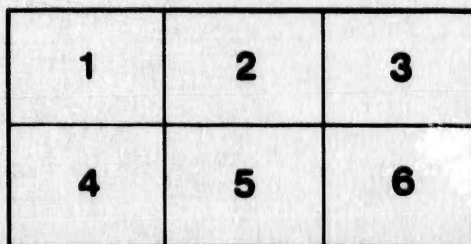
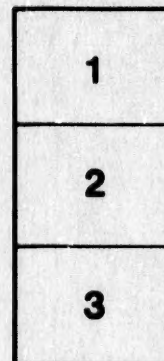
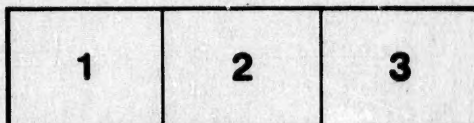
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SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH HOWE.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

March 31, 1858.

Mr. Howe said—This debate, Mr. Speaker, has already occupied a great deal of time, and I am not desirous to protract it. It seems but fair, as the Attorney General and the hon. member for Inverness have yet to address the House, that I should precede them, that they may have point blank range at each other. I would not speak at all, but as many of the supporters and members of the government have been highly attentive and complimentary to me, it would be discourteous not to return my acknowledgements. The learned member for Digby, in his speech to-day, laid all the blame of his political inconsistency upon the member for Windsor. He would not have gone over to the enemy but for my letters. Nobody complains of his going, but if he intended to go, in my opinion, he should not have met in caucus with his old friends—concurrent in their acts—and only deserted them when there was a hostile majority without him.

Mr. Wade—I deny it. (Cries of order.) The member for Windsor must recollect that I carefully avoided all reference to the secret action of the party, but now that the subject has been referred to, I may state that I distinctly informed them that if they took the action proposed I must leave them. If the member for Windsor dares to drag my name into this debate, I will be prepared to meet him.

Hon. Mr. Howe.—The learned member for Digby need not threaten me. I dare drag my body into this debate. What I wish to know is, whether he was present at the meeting at which it was determined, that if William Condon did not tender his resignation, he should be dismissed? The learned member seems to regret deeply the conduct of the protestant gentlemen who have formed an alliance, and who he and others have dragged without ceremony into this debate. But let me ask him, if they have not the same right to publish a religious or political manifesto that the Catholic Prelates had to issue their Synodical letter in July last? Would he say to Protestants the rights which Catholics exercise and enjoy? If not, upon what pretext does he venture to assail Ministers of the Gospel for doing what the laws allow to be done—for following the example of those, those daring denunciations of all that Pro-

testants hold sacred, he has not mustered courage to impugn?

There was not much else in the member for Digby's speech, so I pass on to the more elaborate production of the learned Solicitor General. I listened to that gentleman, as I always do, with infinite pleasure. When he rises we are sure of amusement if not of instruction. He is humorous if not logical; and, when compared with some of his colleagues, his eloquence has the smack and flavor of old wine, while theirs too often resembles the rumblings of a beer-barrel or the acidulous droppings of a vinegar-cask. Though the weight of his indignation fell upon the firm of Young & Co., there was something irresistably comic in his description of the new firm. In that sketch the man overcame the politician, as it was apparent that he would rather peril his office than spoil his joke.

It appeared to me, sir, that the learned Solicitor General did not touch some topics introduced into his speech with the seriousness they deserved. I could not believe him in earnest when he described Responsible Government as a system fraught with tyranny and injustice. If I thought he was, I would turn him to our mother country, whose history, until the introduction of Responsible Government, is marked, from age to age, and from reign to reign, with anarchy and bloodshed, until the simple expedient was adopted of routing a bad administration by a resolution instead of by the sword. Since that period England, Ireland and Scotland, have presented a marked contrast to the nations of continental Europe, in which there are no securities for human freedom, in which constitutions are made and unmade with marvellous rapidity, and in which struggles for liberty always end in the establishment of despotic power. In the neighbouring Republics Responsible Government has been established under other forms, but, though the mode be different, they preserve, through the ballot box, the spirit of the British constitution. Let the Solicitor General take these great countries, England and the United States, descended from the same stock—speaking the same language, governed by the same principles of action, whose power extends over a large portion of the globe, and where, on the face of the earth, will he find any others with which they can be compared? In both he

will find practical freedom in the widest sense of the phrase—laws faithfully administered—life and property secure. These are the fruits of Responsible Government, and he knows that where it exists not they are not to be found.

The Solicitor General gave us many quotations from Scripture, not exactly in the spirit of a divine, for he touched with an irreverent hand things sacred as well as things profane. He made the sermon on the Mount to sound very like the sermon of a mountebank. (Laughter.) He referred to the period when Herod and Pilate shook hands. The passage might have been made more significant. That union was brought about to please the priests of those days, as another alliance was formed by certain gentlemen opposite last winter. In both cases a victim was required. I will not point to the innocent whose destruction was meditated when the Attorney General and the member for Halifax joined hands last session, but this is quite apparent that the Priests were also to be conciliated and gratified by that union. (Laughter.) He tells us that Christians, when smitten on one cheek should turn the other. "But I am under the impression that the Protestants of Nova Scotia have been smitten on both cheeks, and I believe there is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. Are Protestants forever to put up with indignity and insult? Are they to be held up to contempt and ridicule by Crown officers—to be branded with infamous crimes by Provincial Secretaries—to see the Scriptures they reverence scoffed at and denounced by Catholic Priests, and yet are they to be denied the right to organize for self protection—for the defence of the principles they are bound to cherish and regard? Let me give a few illustrations. The Reverend Mr. Rand is an educated, pious, Baptist Minister. How often has he been styled Roderick Random—scoffed at and denounced because he dared without permission from the Pope, to study the Micmac language, and perform the duty of a Missionary among the Indians. I hold in my hand a Catholic publication in which the Reverend Mr. Uniacke is described as "the unicorn of the Round Church"—"the brawling Parson of the Round Church"—"the bellowing bull of Bashan, from Dutch Town." And in which the Rev. Mr. Martin is called "a wretch," "the hoary criminal of the Guardian," "an old sheep whistling rogue and ram tender," "a deformed beast of grace."

Mr. Johnston.—From what paper does the hon. gentleman quote? What date.

Mr. Marshall.—Is it the Christian Messenger?

Mr. Howe continued. Let the gentlemen opposite keep their powder dry. They will find out by and bye that Protestants know how to defend themselves alike from open enemies and insidious friends. I will lay the extracts on the table that gentlemen may study them at their leisure.

The religious controversy which raged here

years ago did not interest me much, because, at that time, I did not believe that any portion of our people were to be distrusted, or were disposed to take unwarrantable liberties, or to secure to themselves, by combination, advantages not common to the whole. I never dreamed that, when our mother country was involved in war with a foreign power, any parties in this country would sympathize with our enemies—rejoice in their successes—or correspond and co-operate with their abettors in time of war. Bear in mind that all this was done before any Protestant Alliance was formed. It excited astonishment and disgust, but was met by no organization. We were smitten on that cheek, but soon the blow came in another direction. An armed mob took possession of our public works, committed atrocious outrages on a body of unoffending Protestants, they were protected by a Catholic combination, carried by perjury and intimidation through the courts, and then the boast that all this was done in the name of religion was huried in our faces as a warning for the future. All this was done, and yet no Protestant Alliance was formed. We had been smitten on both cheeks before Protestant clergymen and laymen combined for self-defence. All this, and more—the Government was overturned because some of us ventured to denounce these insults and outrages, and to discharge, as politicians, our public duties with spirit and independence. Still the Protestant clergy moved not. They were perhaps morbidly sensitive, lest their motive might be misinterpreted. The election passed over and they moved not. At length came that crowning outrage and indecency, when in midsummer last, a body of Catholic Prelate assembled in the heart of this Protestant Province—denounced the scriptures, and hurled defiance at the spiritual guides of the great mass of the people. Let me quote passage or two from their Synodical letter for the edification of the Solicitor General.

"They must be preserved from the thief and the robber, and the ravening wolves of heresy and immorality, which threaten the on every side.

"Every good Catholic must be prepared any sacrifice to resist the impious attempt force upon his children books that are dangerous to their faith or morals.—Not to speak of many other objectionable books which have been purchased out of the public funds for distribution amongst Catholic children, we do not consider the English Bible, who innumerable errors have been admitted by the most learned Protestants themselves, to be the word of god. We do not regard the English Protestant version as a true, or a true copy of the Bible, for not only is there studied corruption of texts, but many of the Sacred Books are pronounced apocryphal or omitted altogether. We do not consider it a proper book for Catholic Youth, stamp as it is by the reputation of the Church.

"With our united voice and authority not only give you this solemn warning as regards the danger of mixed schools, but

also enjoy both your the poison books and circulation country."

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much, because, that any por- distrustful, or untale liberties, y combination, whole. I never mer country was gn power, any sympathy with, r successes—or th their abettors ind that all this nt Alliance was ent and disgust, tion. We were soon the blows. An armed mob works, commit- body of unoffend- protected by e d by perjury and irts, and then the in the name of nces as a warning s done, and yet rmed. We had before Protestant bined for self-de -the Governmen- use of us ventured d outrages, and our public dutie e. Still the Pro- They were per- lest their motive he election passe At length cam- indecency, when Catholic Prelate of this Protestant scriptures, and atual guides of the Let me quote Synodical letter olitor General. d from the, this evening wolves hich threaten the must be prepared mpious attempt ks that are spe rule.—Notto dange books whicha public funds f istic children, vish Bible, who en admitted by themselves, to do not regard t n as a true, or e not only is there s, but many of unced apocrypha e do not consti ble Youth, stamp of the Church. and authority nnu warning as d schools, but

also enjoin upon you the duty of guarding both yourselves and your little ones against the poisonous drug of *insidel and immoral books and newspapers, which are in daily circulation even in the remote parts of the country.*"

Now, Mr. Speaker, when this letter was published, this defiance given, when all that we hold sacred was treated as reprobate and untrue—when this open attempt was made to break down the authority of that volume upon which all our hopes of happiness hereafter, all our religious liberties in this world, rest, can the Solicitor General be surprised that Protestants every where should see the necessity of organization; that those Prelates should be rebuked and the country protected from insult hereafter. These Clergymen have given expression to their feelings in the documents put forth by the Alliance. I desire to give expression to mine in the Resolution which I now lay on the table, and which I shall move at a future day.

Whereas, Christianity is the only true basis upon which a sound system of education can safely repose.

Resolved, That no school within this Province shall be entitled to aid from the public funds, until it shall have been made to appear that the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testaments, are daily read therein.

The hon. Solicitor General tell us, that Protestants, by combining, never did any good. I cannot agree with him. By combinations of Protestants civil and religious liberty was secured to Britain—to Holland, and to all the nations upon the Continent that enjoy it now. Protestants have been compelled to combine as they are combining here, in the United States, in Canada, and in all the British Provinces which surround us. The aggressive spirit of Catholicity which has assailed our people, is everywhere the same. In Upper Canada Protestants of all shades of political opinion have been compelled to combine, to protect their Common School System, and to rebuke the Priests by whom it was assailed. At the late election Liberals and Conservatives heartily coalesced, and a triumphant majority has been returned hostile to the influences by which their interests were assailed. I hold in my hand a report of the speeches delivered at the great banquet in Hastings to celebrate the triumph achieved. A few extracts will suffice to show the provocation given and the reasons there are for combination and resistance, in Canada. Mr. Wallbridge, says:—

"When we introduced Responsible Government, therefore, we had to introduce along with it as a necessary adjunct, National Education. For some years the system of Common Schools prospered in our country.—Every denomination was satisfied with them, everything went on in harmony, and some of us fancied we were coming to the time when the lion and the lamb should lie down together. Such harmony was there that the Protestants entrusted the management of the Educational department to a Roman Catholic

Bishop. But by and bye there came to this country a Roman Catholic Bishop from a foreign land, who had never been accustomed to the workings of free institutions, but had been used to having the dictates of the Church obeyed without the slightest enquiry. He was one who desired to set up the will of the Church against the liberties of the people.—So long as he confined himself within the pale of his own Church, we had nothing to say to him, but when he began to use the power of his Church to affect the Protestant portion of the community, it was time, as a duty we owed to ourselves and our children, to sound the alarm. Parliament, however, permitted separate schools to go into existence, and in 1855 an Act was passed which put the Roman Catholic separate schools in precisely the same position as the common schools in regard to the amount of money received. We regretted to see the Roman Catholics withdraw, for we wished to see our schools common in fact as they were common in name. We do not wish two classes of society brought up separately to suspect one another. Well, by the act of 1855, Parliament granted that indulgence. Did it satisfy the parties who demanded it? No! But from that time onward there has been a most firm determination not only to maintain that law, but to extend it, so as to bring about the destruction of our common school system. We accordingly found that a Bill was introduced, which, had it passed, would most effectually have snuffed out or common school system."

What says another of the speakers at this banquet, Mr. Mowatt, M. P. P.

"We were driven on our side to bring in the element to which I refer, because our common school system was attacked, and undisguised hostility towards it proclaimed by the Roman Catholics. Now, that system is one in which we glory. We boast indeed of the material progress our country has made. We look with pride on its advancing population and its increasing wealth, but of neither of these nor of aught else connected with the land in which we live, are we so proud, as we are of our system of common school education. (Cheers.) And it is right and natural that we should guard it carefully against all attacks, and that we should closely watch those who make them. If they attack as Roman Catholics, we surely may if necessary defend as Protestants. Those of our opponents to whom I allude, frankly tell us they would very much rather have no system of public education at all than that which now exists and which we value so highly. They would substitute for it a thoroughly denominational system, of which the Separate Schools we have now are but an illustration. Such a change would be destructive, and, so far from yielding to it, for my own part I go so far in regard to Sectarian Schools, as to assert that we should not have even such as the law now sanctions, but that they should be swept away altogether. (Loud cheers.) We gain nothing by allowing the law to re-

main as it is. It was hoped when that law was first passed, and it is hoped now by those who are in favor of its being left to stand, that the special privileges given to Roman Catholics would have the effect of saving our general system from attack. But it has not had that effect. (Hear, hear.) Though we felt the separate school law to be an evil, yet we submitted to it quietly for a while, but there is no reason why we should submit to it any longer, when the reason why we were asked to submit to it hitherto has proved to be no reason at all. The permitting Separate Schools to exist has not accomplished the object of saving our common school system from attacks, and, this being so, there are many reasons why we should oppose them out and out, not as Protestants merely but as Canadians—not as Protestants, but as citizens—not as Protestants, but as lovers of sound education and anxious for its universal diffusion. (Cheers.) These Separate Schools are institutions in which an education is given to those who attend them far inferior, as you all know, to what is given in the public schools; and the consequence is that so long as we permit them, so long we deprive our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens of the privileges of an education such as our own children receive. (Hear, hear.) And it is of too much importance to us as citizens, that all our children, those of Roman Catholics and Protestants alike, should be well educated, to allow us to sanction a system which would prevent one class from receiving the education which the other obtains. (Cheers.) But the Roman Catholic laity are far more interested in obtaining the abolition of these schools than we are. We suffer from any division in the matter of education, but not nearly so much as they do; and it would be a far greater advantage to them than to us, that we should succeed in repealing the statute under which these schools are established. It is thus satisfactory to know that, while we are compelled to contend, to some extent, as Protestants, yet we are contending for what is important to our country in all its interests, and is especially important to the Roman Catholics themselves. (Hear, hear.)

In New Brunswick also the reading of the Bible in Schools is becoming the question of questions. Let me quote a single passage from a late paper printed in that Province:

"We all know perfectly well the efforts which the Catholic Hierarchy have made in the United States and in Canada, to overthrow and to destroy the Common School system. And we all know that they have signally failed in the United States, though their failure is not so signal in Canada. When, therefore, the Catholic Bishops assembled in Halifax, put forth their manifesto declaring 'that no effort should be spared to secure for them, [the Catholic children] if possible, the blessings of a thorough Catholic education in the schools of the district in which they live,' the public were justified in believing that an attempt would be made in this Pro-

vince when the Government proposed to remodel the School system, to introduce the system of Separate Sectarian Schools. If this was not meant by the manifesto it meant nothing, and that it did not mean nothing was shown by the language of the Organ of the Hierarchy in this City, which told us in its usual off-hand tone of imprudence that it published the manifesto 'in order that the views of the Catholics might be clearly understood and that trouble might be avoided.' Of course no one can doubt that by 'trouble' was meant the opposition to the Government measure, of all whom the organ of the Hierarchy could influence, provided the Government measure did not permit of the disposal of the public money in such a way that by its means 'the blessings of a thorough Catholic education' could be obtained. We shall be much mistaken if the Government will not run the risk of the organ's continued and more bitter opposition.

"But, perhaps on that score the government need fear little opposition. Seeing that the whole Protestant population, and a large portion of the Catholics who put not their faith in Hierarchy, are united in their determination to have Common Schools. It is more than probable that for the present, at least, the manifesto will be a dead letter. The enemy, however, that is not to be attacked boldly in front may, by a cunning general, be divided and attacked in detail. Whether this 'dodge' will answer remains to be seen. The last manoeuvre is to get up a cry against direct taxation, to accuse the Government of a desire to make places, by means of a School Bill. Of course, if dissension can be sowed in the ranks of those who will support the Common School system, by defeating the Government on the details of their bill, that will be attempted. What those details are no one out of the Cabinet can know, and, it is therefore premature to speak concerning details. But we warn all Protestants and Liberal Catholics not to be misled by the jesuitical attempt of the Organ of the Hierarchy, to distract public attention from the main point at issue in the School question. For Protestants and Liberal Catholics the question is Common Schools or Separate Schools?"

Is it not clear then that the aggressive spirit, displayed by the Catholic Priests all over the continent, has created and is creating the necessity for Protestant activity and organization? The Solicitor General fancied that this Alliance will not last, perhaps not, but he may be mistaken. So long as the spirit displayed at Gourlay's shanty is rampant here—so long as treason to our sovereign is openly preached and rewarded—so long as Governments are thrown down that Catholics may show their power or gratify their revenge, so long will this Alliance endure. When the necessities in which it originated have passed away, if they ever do, it may pass away also. But the learned gentleman may be assured that this "monstrous" combination, as he was pleased to call it, will en-

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dure until its work is done. As the learned gentleman seems fond of Hebrew illustrations, let me remind him that the Catholics, at home, having secured emancipation for themselves, have recently combined to deny it to the Jews.

But, the Solicitor General tells us that Protestant clergymen should keep out of politics. Why? are they less intelligent, or less deeply interested in the prosperity of the Province, than Catholic Priests, who have no families, no social ties, and yet are ever dabbling in politics wherever they happen to be? Are Protestant ministers to stand by and see treason preached—education perilled—heads broken—graves violated, and criminals going unpunished? Are they to bear scoffing and insult—to see their Bible denounced, and hold their hands, while Catholic Priests lead their flocks up to the hustings and overturn and form Governments as they please?

The Provincial Secretary paid me a good many compliments, and deserves some notice at my hands. His speech was certainly, in one respect, the most extraordinary that I ever heard delivered in this Assembly. He mentioned the names of, or made pointed references to, 43 individuals, eight or ten clergymen and myself being among the number. There may have been degrees of comparison in our demerits, but I appeal to the gentlemen who heard him. If he left a rag of character to one of the 43? For scurrillity, malignity and defamation—his speech stands unrivalled by any others I ever heard, and is likely so to stand, for it is not at all probable that it will become a model for imitation.

He told us that his mouth had been "sealed up for a year;" but really when opened at last, the breaking of the seventh seal was nothing to it, if we are to take his own estimate of the destructive power of his eloquence. A good deal of noise may be made by the explosion of a bottle of ginger-beer; a good many dresses are sometimes soiled by it, but no other harm is done. And so, when the learned gentleman uncorked himself, the noise and the nastiness were out of all proportion to the damage. (Laughter.) He informed the House that I once "prostituted" the Press, and in conducting a newspaper spared neither sex nor age. But if he ventures to put files of the *Colonist* or *Catholic* upon the table, I will find him ten personal attacks, ten foul words, in either of them for one that he can discover in the old *Novascotian*. Indeed, I have always been under the impression that that paper was, in my time, a model of elegant literature and political refinement. (Laughter.)

But, sir, the Provincial Secretary went a good deal farther. He charged me with being a defaulter, and did me the honor to apply sundry other epithets not very complimentary. I fear that he tempted me into some indecorum. The language I applied to him, on the instant, was the only language that was appropriate, and I can only regret that it was not parliamentary. I shall waste but little time upon his charges. As Collector

of Excise I collected and paid over £38,000. £4780 passed through my hands as Commissioner for building the Telegraph and for Indian Affairs. As Treasurer of the Casual Revenue, I collected and disbursed £14,815; and as Chairman of the Railway Board, I expended £504,288. These sums amount to £561,951, more than half a million of money. Now I defy the Provincial Secretary to show one fraudulent figure in all the accounts of those receipts and expenditures; or to trace one shilling of all this public money into my pocket by "any indirection." If he could, sir, I should have heard from the Attorney General long ago, and not from the Provincial Secretary. The latter seems indignant because I never prosecuted any body for defamation. A nice life I should have had, had I brought actions against every body that abused me, or criticised by public conduct. For twenty years I have lived through storms of calumny, and never prosecuted a printer or a political opponent in my life. The Doctor knows this right well, and knows also that I never intend to. But one action was ever brought against me during the twelve years of my connexion with the Press, and in that case the parties were in the wrong. A public man, who can only maintain his character by the terror of the law, will never stand very high in public estimation. But now, sir, let me ask the attention of the House to some curious facts. If I am a defaulter now, I must have been one when I left office in 1844. If I am guilty of any of the offences with which I am charged by the Provincial Secretary, they were committed prior to 1855. Now, sir, I ask the Provincial Secretary, in presence of this House and of the country, how it happened that, in the session of 1855, he came fawning upon me, with any quantity of pretty names and laudatory speeches, to induce me to overthrow the Government and put myself at the head of a new one, of which he was to be a supporter if not a member? Let him also explain how it happened that, when I spurned his proposition, as incompatible with my personal honor and the obligations I owed to my friends, he came back a second time, and offered to the man he now slanders *carte blanche* to lead him where he pleased, one stipulation only being made, that Mr. Johnston should be Chief Justice? If I am a bad man now, I was a bad man then. There is no offence which has been charged which does not bear an earlier date. And what shall be said of the man who, knowing these charges to be false, slanders me now, or believing them true, would, two years ago, have made me Provincial Secretary and leader of the Government? If he believed then what he says now, his conduct was more despicable than I have language to describe.

The Provincial Secretary has a high respect for an individual, who I have never called a defaulter. Now I find on the public journals of this country a resolution to this effect:

"Whereas the Hon. Alexander Stewart, &c

Master of the Rolls, since his appointment to that office, contrary to the above and only decision of the local Legislature on this subject, has drawn the sum of £650 sterling instead of that of £580 allowed by the Bill of 1844 "as and for the Salary of that office:" being the sum of £90 sterling or £112 10s. currency annually more than he was entitled to according to the terms on which he accepted office.

Therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this House that the sum of £112 10s. annually, which has now been paid for nearly two years, has been improperly drawn and received in payment of the Salary of the Master of the Rolls, and should be again refunded and paid to the Treasurer of the Casual and Territorial Revenue of this Province."

Now suppose that the Provincial Secretary could find on the public records such a resolution as that, true or false, aimed at the learned member for Inverness, or at myself, would we ever hear the last of it? It being there, just or unjust, it should have shown him how easy a thing it is to prefer an accusation—it should have taught him moderation, in dealing with the men in various parts of the Province, who he has stigmatized, because perhaps they have mistaken their rights, or been found with a few pounds of public money in their pockets.

Had the Provincial Secretary honored me only with his notice I should not perhaps have addressed the House again. But he has defamed other gentlemen, who are not here to defend themselves. Among them one, who, for many reasons, might have been spared. Sir, a more able, honorable and distinguished man, never graced the floor of this Assembly, than my late lamented friend the Honorable James Boyle Uniacke. His noble form, easy deportment, graceful manners, and ready flow of language, are familiar to many who listen to me to-day. No man who ever grappled with him, as I did in the early part of my life, would under estimate his powers. A mind ever fruitful—a tongue ever eloquent—humor inexhaustible, and pathos which few could resist, were among the gifts or attainments of my honorable friend. His colloquial powers were even more marvellous than his forensic or parliamentary displays. He charmed the Senate by his eloquence, but how delightful was he when surrounded by a knot of friends, beneath the gallery or seated at the head of his own hospitable board. How often have I thought, when meeting abroad the choice spirits of both continents, how rare it was to find a man in all respects a match for James Boyle Uniacke. But he was not only distinguished as a legislator. His means and his intellect were embarked in every enterprise which promised the advancement of the common interest, or the growth of public spirit. He took an active part in the introduction of gas and water into this city, and was President of both Companies for a time. He built the Penitentiary with grants carried through this House by his

influence. He aided us in developing and practically working the new constitution, and he gave to the great public works now in progress his steady support.

Such was the man, sir, to whom and to the management of whose Department, foul language has been applied here by members of the government, even at the very moment when my honorable and learned friend was in the agonies of death. The Sepoy and the Savage, it is true, torture their victims in that hour, but a christian warrior turns from them with disgust or slays them for their barbarity. The hawk and the kite may peck out the eyes of the noble steed who has run his course, even while the heart is still palpitating and the blood is warm. What shall I say of such foul birds as the Provincial Secretary and the hon. member for Victoria, who have settled upon the reputation of my departed friend, even while his great heart was breaking and his noble spirit was winging its upward flight. What need be said? We all knew him and we know them. A serpent may crawl over the statue of Apollo, but the beautiful proportions of the marble will yet be seen beneath the slime.—(Cheers) That my friend may have had his errors I am not here to deny, but I rejoice that, whatever they were, God in his infinite mercy, and not man in his malignity, is hereafter to be his judge.

When failing health made it desirable for Mr. Uniacke to retire from the active duties of the Crown office, and the leadership of the Government, he was appointed to the land office, over which he presided for four years. The coarsest terms have been applied to that Department while under his charge, and language used here, of which the members of Government who employed it ought to be ashamed. [Here some explanations were offered by the Provincial Secretary, and by hon. Charles Campbell, who disclaimed any intention to disparage Mr. Uniacke. Mr. Howe continued.] He was bound to accept their disclaimers, and glad that they were made. But the Provincial Secretary had spoken of the management of the land office as "feeble and incompetent," and had charged "fraud and incompetency" in another passage. The member for Victoria had spoken of the land office, while Mr. Uniacke presided over it, bear in mind, as "a nuisance and a curse." Whether this language was meant to be applied to Mr. Uniacke or to his office Mr. Howe would proceed to show that it was deserved by neither, during the four years that that gentleman had administered the Crown Estate :

[Mr. Howe here produced the official Returns, and compared the state of the Crown land Department, during the incumbencies of Mr. Morris and of Mr. Uniacke. During the 24 years that Mr. Morris had charge of the Crown lands he had granted but 363,063 acres while Mr. Uniacke had granted 247,947 acres in four years. From 1842 to 1852 the average quantity granted in each year did not exceed 28,711 acres, while from 1854 to 1867

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the average was 61,984. To prove how much more work had been done by Mr. Uniacke than by Mr. Morris he contrasted the number of grants issued, which averaged but 198 during the latter's last ten years, while 888 had been annually issued by the former from 1854 to 1857. Looking at the financial aspect of the Department, and its power to produce Revenue, he showed that while from 1828 to 1838 but £1754, or £250 per annum, had been paid in by Mr. Morris. While, from 1841 to 1853 he had paid over but £11,291, or about £1129 per annum, Mr. Uniacke had paid in 4 years £26,815, or about £6708 per annum. In fact the Crown lands had been made to produce, by Mr. Uniacke, in four years, more than twice the sum, in solid revenue, that Mr. Morris had been able to extract from them during the entire 24 years of his incumbency. Though a Deputy or two might have misbehaved, or some small amount might have been lost by the defalcation of subordinates, what were these, about which so much fuss had been made, compared with the great results which had been achieved—compared with the large sum of £26,815 paid into the Treasury? For the first time in the history of the Province had the Crown lands, under Mr. Uniacke, been made a permanent and available source of Revenue].

What, then, Mr. Speaker, are the charges against the Department? A want of science or of accuracy? There is no such charge. Mr. Hendry is scientific if Mr. Uniacke was not; and I am prepared to show not only that the field work is done with great care, but that the internal arrangement and economy of the department were never so perfect as they are now. Is delay complained of? The amount of grants issued and work despatched shows there can be no such complaint; but I know that, under the former management, Land claims left before the Council when I went out in 1844 were still there when I came back in 1848. But, it is said, some of the Deputies have done wrong. If this be true, Mr. Uniacke is not to blame; Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Logan were appointed by Mr. Morris in 1852, and Mr. Thompson in 1853. If either were deserving of censure, it could only be because they had disobeyed Mr. Uniacke's instructions; and it is apparent that the moment his attention was called to suspicious circumstances, in the Lunenburg case, he at once ordered an investigation. I trust I have now said enough, Mr. Speaker, to vindicate the public character and official acts of my lamented friend from unmerited imputations. Having done so, I will

No longer seek his merits to disclose,

Or draw his frailties from their dread
abode;

There they alike in trembling hope repose,
The bosom of his father and his God:

Let me now, Mr. Chairman, ask the attention of the House to another Branch of the public service, and to the acts of another old friend, whose conduct and whose works have

been this session rudely assailed. The Hon. Hugh Bell, since he grew to man's estate, has lived for half a century in this community, respected for his integrity and honorable dealings, yet advantage was taken of some error in accounts, running over some £120,000 to blow upon his character. The founder of an Institution, honorable to humanity, he has been arraigned here because some defects have been discovered in the masonry, as though he had robbed a Church. Let me do justice to my honorable friend, who is not here to defend himself. Self-educated, but highly intelligent, a natural orator, with an independent spirit, Mr. Bell was selected by his fellow citizens and returned to this House without opposition. How he demeaned himself, we all know. Ever mild and gentlemanlike—never savage or vindictive,—generous, fluent and sincere—true to his friends, but courteous to his opponents, he commanded great esteem; and, when elevated to the Upper branch, did not leave an enemy behind him. The children that he has bred are, among our citizens, remarkable for their correctness of conduct, their integrity and intelligence. Mr. Bell was selected to occupy a seat in the Executive Council, and placed at the head of the Board of Works by the spontaneous action of his friends. Personal distinction or advantage he never sought. He never thought of himself when offices were to be given away. He thought only of the Insane. One measure was always uppermost in his mind, and he only cared for office or lingered in it that he might carry that measure, and establish an Asylum for the relief of those whom, for his own inscrutable purposes, the Almighty has deprived of reason. It was carried at last, and the Asylum, reared under the general superintendence of my honorable friend, is now nearly completed—an ornament to this harbor—and the hope of the friends of the afflicted in all parts of the Province. On the change of Government, Mr. Bell was removed from his office. Of this he did not, nor did his friends, complain. But the gentlemen opposite were not content to enjoy the patronage thus seized upon—they immediately commenced to blacken my worthy friend's reputation. For twelve months they have been at this precious work, and, if we were to credit half they have said and written, we would suppose that fraud and incompetency had characterized all his proceedings—that the Lunatic Asylum, after costing twice as much as it ought, was about to tumble down.

Now, in the first place, let me observe that, in all the earlier stages of this work, Mr. Bell consulted Miss Dix, a lady who has devoted her life to the amelioration of the condition of the Insane, who has visited all the Asylums in Europe and America, and has had more practical experience than any man on this continent. That lady did us the honor to come into this Province and give us the benefit of her knowledge. By her advice my friend selected the site of the Asylum, and a more beautiful or appropriate one

could not be found in Nova Scotia. She selected and forwarded the plans after which the edifice has been built. If, then, Mr. Bell went to the fountain head for information, and got the best, who is there who will venture to assert that he did wrong?

But, it has been said that Mr. Chambers, the Superintendent, was intemperate and incompetent. I do not believe that he was either; but what I do believe is, that this person, whatever his faults may have been, has been hardly treated, and has been dismissed from the public service without a fair chance of self-defence. Mr. Chambers brought with him from Canada a certificate which I hold in my hand, and in which the military officers, under whom he served, there testify:

"Mr. Robert Chambers, who has been employed in this department for nearly three years, has conducted himself with diligence, attention and sobriety."

Here is a certificate, signed by Mr. Thomas Goudge, of the Engineer Department, a respected member of the community, known to us all, who says:

"I have known Mr. Robert Chambers since 1850, and it affords me pleasure to give this testimonial as to the general propriety of his conduct and character—his practical acquirements as an architect are of a very respectable order."

In 1855 Mr. Chambers produced to Mr. Bell a certificate, which I also hold in my hand, signed by Captain Barry, and by the Clerk of the Works in the Royal Engineer Department, and in which they declare that he is "competent to undertake the general superintendence and direction of any buildings or works. He is a good mechanical and architectural Draughtsman, fully experienced in preparing the general, working, detail plans and sections of buildings and ground." They also certify that he is an excellent "judge of masonry and of all kinds of artificers' work," and that he is "steady, zealous and confidential."

Messrs. Peters, Blaiklock & Peters, the builders of the New Barracks, also say that Mr. Chambers was fifteen months in their employ, and that "it affords them pleasure to testify to the general propriety of his conduct." "As regards his professional abilities, they consider him quite competent to undertake the charge of any buildings given him to superintend." While in their employ "he had a general charge of the works then in progress."

Will it be asserted, then, that Mr. Bell did wrong, even if Mr. Chambers be in fault, in employing a man so certified and recommended? I hold his drawings in my hand, and his working plans could be produced, proving his knowledge of his profession. But it has been said that the building is defective—that the lime was bad, and the sand worse—that the bricks cost £5 or £6 per thousand, and that but for a loose wall that the present government have built outside, the building would have tumbled down. [Mr. Howe then

proceeded to show that all these charges were grossly exaggerated, or entirely destitute of foundation. He produced—

1st. A letter from Mr. Robert Davis, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee appointed to investigate his claims, in which Mr. Davis rebutted the statements that had been made injurious to the character of his work, and to his own reputation as a mechanic.

2nd. A certificate, signed by Mr. Robert Malcom, Henry A. Wright and William Finlay, two of them sworn city surveyors, and experienced master mechanics, and the other an architect of high character; who declare that "the materials used in the Asylum are of the best quality," and that "the work has been performed in a good, substantial and workmanlike manner." This certificate was especially valuable, because the characters and experience of these men were known to us all, and because one of them had been a competitor with Mr. Davis for this very work. Of the sloping wall, built by the Government, these persons say: "We are of opinion that it is of no practical benefit, and having been done so late in the season, thereby exposing the footings of the wall to the action of the weather, would have a tendency seriously to injure the work."

3. A certificate from James Sinnott, Senr. well known to the whole community, showing that the lime used was of the best quality of brown lime, made of Chester stone, and burnt at Dartmouth.

4. Accounts of expenditure, showing that the bricks had cost £2 16s. 6d. per thousand, instead of £5 or £6 as had been asserted. Two certificates of master builders proving that the bricks were of a very superior quality, and finally, amidst roars of laughter, Mr. Howe produced two or three of the bricks themselves which nobody in their presence would venture to disparage.

He also handed in Mr. Chamber's answers to 11 questions put to him by the Government, which he only regretted had been too long delayed, but which were candidly expressed, and in the main satisfactory.

This, then, is the work that we have heard so much abused. This is the man that the Provincial Secretary has ventured, because he is comparatively poor and friendless, to style "intemperate and incompetent." Mr. Chambers may take this glass, and I assume he does, as nearly all the engineers, and architects, and mechanics in England do, men who have done the work and built the modern wonders of the world. But what then, do not members of the Government do the same, and if they are fit for their work why should he not be fit for his?

These details are tedious, Mr. Speaker, but this defence was necessary. It was due to my old friend, and it was but just to the comparatively friendless architect, who I could not see ruthlessly trampled upon, as if reputation was not as dear to him as it is and ought to be to us. By and bye the Provincial Secretary will himself grow old, and if he does, I hope he may have served the country with

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half the fidelity and honor which my vena-
ble friend has exhibited in every phase of his
useful life: whose monument, when he dies,
will be this Lunatic Asylum, raised by his
talents and exertions for the alleviation of
human misery. We were told, sir, that £300
was expended in some sort of celebration, of
which the Government of the day knew no-
thing. This is not true. A day of general
festivity, in honor of the foundation of Halli-
fax and of the close of the Russian war, was
appointed by the Government. The founda-
tion stone of the Lunatic Asylum was laid
upon that day. £300 were expended in the
ceremonies and festivities appropriate to such
an occasion in all British communities. The
amount was paid by the Board of Works. But
if it had been wasted, which it was not, let it
be borne in mind that £300 had been given by
my venerable friend out of his own pocket in
aid of this Asylum. That £200 has been en-
trusted to him by one gentleman to be simi-
larly applied: and that another benevolent in-
dividual, whose attention had no doubt been
attracted by my old friend's speeches and
public appeals, has bequeathed towards its
funds about £12 or £1400 more. Let us then
hear no more such slanders and misrepresen-
tations as we have had. The Lunatic Asy-
lum will be standing, an ornament and an ho-
nor to this country, long after the present
Administration has been forgotten: and so long
as it does stand, the name of my old friend
will be remembered with veneration and
respect.

The House here adjourned with the under-
standing that Mr. Howe should close his ad-
dress on the morrow.

THURSDAY, April 1.

Mr. Howe occupied some time with a re-
capitulation of his arguments, in reference to
the Land Office and Lunatic Asylum, of the
previous day, enumerating the documents to
which he had referred, and laying them on
the table that members might refer to them.
We have already condensed the substance of
the whole. Of Mr. Davis, the builder of the
Asylum, he felt it his duty to say, that he was
one of the most upright, trustworthy and in-
dustrious mechanics in this city. He had
built the Bank of British America, the Nova
Scotia Bank, the Market House, and many
other of our most elegant and substantial
structures. There was scarcely a street that
did not contain some evidence of his handi-
work and integrity. Mr. Howe then referred
to and was about to read a letter addressed by
Mr. Davis to the select committee, in which he
successfully vindicates his conduct in refer-
ence to the Asylum. Mr. Wade objected to
the reading of the letter, as the committee
had not reported, and Mr. Howe passed on to
other topics.

The Hon. Provincial Secretary has indulged
himself in certain strictures upon my Rail-
road policy, not called for by the scope of this
debate, nor very accurate. He has argued
as though I and I alone had ever thought of
involving this country in heavy expenditures

on account of Railways. It is true that I first
called attention to the practicability and im-
portance of a Railway to Windsor in 1835,
but abandoned the scheme for many years,
as at that time premature. Subsequently,
many of our leading men, on all sides of poli-
tics, Mr. Cogswell, Mr. George R. Young,
Mr. James and Mr. Crofton Uniacke, and
many others, embarked in the intercolonial
scheme, and the public revenues of this
country were pledged to the extent of £25,000
per annum, for 20 years, with ten miles of
land in aid of that enterprise. When that
failed I fell back upon the Windsor road, and,
if allowed to have constructed it in 1850 it
would have cost but £400,000, would have been
long since finished, a cheap experiment would
have been tried, and the burthen upon our
revenues would have been light, even if it
did not pay. But Mr. Johnston, Mr. Uniacke,
and other leading public men, went on to the
Portland Convention. They came back, full
of enthusiasm for great intercolonial projects,
and nothing would content them but the
overland route through New Brunswick, to
which they had been pledged at Portland.
£24,000 per annum, let it be borne in mind,
would have tried the safe experiment of a
Railroad to Windsor, and a larger sum than
this, for 20 years mind, had been granted for
the Quebec line several years before. When
the delegates returned from Portland the
Windsor line was scouted, and a great meet-
ing was held at Temperance Hall in aid of
the European line. I attended that meeting,
and there, for the first time, propounded the
policy since so successful here, and which,
after a vain struggle to do otherwise, has
been forced upon the Province of New Bruns-
wick. At that meeting the delegates were
full of enthusiasm, but not one of them could
tell us how the money was to be raised to
build five miles of the road they advocated.
Then it was that I showed that Maine, Nova
Scotia and New Brunswick, were all too poor
to raise the funds required by subscriptions of
stock, and that, without such subscriptions, it
was folly to suppose that stock could be sold
in England. Besides, if it could, as it was
clear that the road would not pay, it would
not be honest to ask the Capitalists of Eng-
land to put their money into an enterprise
into which we would not put our own. I
suggested the only alternative, that the Pro-
vinces should pledge their public revenues,
obtain the guarantee of the Imperial Govern-
ment, if they could, borrow the money hon-
estly and take the risk of the adventure.
This suggestion was received with acclama-
tion, by every man, with a single exception
I believe, in the room, of all political parties.
This suggestion embodied my policy, which
all felt to be sound, at that time, and to which
Nova Scotia, (except for one period when she
lost a year by trying Mr. Johnston's experi-
ments,) has ever since adhered. For this
policy, whether it succeed or fail, I am re-
sponsible—the glory or the shame of it is mine,
and I am content to wait for the results.
Had the Imperial guarantee been obtained,

we should have got two millions of money for the cost of one. I did my best to get it, while others laboured to thwart and prevent me. I toiled for two years to unite the Provinces, and the British government, in a British American Railway policy. Had I succeeded, by this time there would have an Inter Colonial Highway, on British territory, open from Halifax to the western boundary of Canada. But self-interest and powerful connexions were brought to bear upon the enterprise. Canada and New Brunswick were handed over to the great Contractors. The results are before us. Canada has had to pay £3,000,000 sterling, for which she has no security. New Brunswick, after wasting two years, had to buy off the Contractors at a cost of £90,000 and adopt our policy. The Provinces have all had to make their roads with money at 6 per cent. instead of 3½, and to make them in the war period when labour and provisions were high. The blame of all this must rest upon those who raised the obstructions, isolated the Provinces, and wasted precious time.

But the Provincial Secretary desires the House to believe that I mystified and deceived the country as to the cost of Railroads. This is not true. In all my negotiations with Earl Grey I assumed Major Robinson's estimate as the basis of calculation. When I moved the resolution to provide for the Windsor Railroad in 1850 I took as the basis the estimates of Wightman and Chesborough made by order of the Legislature.

The belief, that railroads could be made much cheaper in America than they had been, did not originate with me. When Mr. Chandler and myself went to Canada in 1851, we found the leading members of the Canadian Government, relying chiefly, I believe, on information collected by Mr. Keefer, impressed with the belief, that, at the then rates of labour and provisions, railroads might be made for about £5000 sterling a mile. The St. Andrews Road, then in course of construction, had been let for less. About the same time Mr. Robert Chambers, of Edinburgh, who came to this country, assured us that the Peebles railroad, in which he and his brother were largely interested, would cost no more; and shortly after Messrs. Sykes, King and Brookfield came forward and offered to construct our Main line for £5200 per mile. I acted, then, from time to time, on the latest information that could be obtained. I was not an Engineer, and could make no calculations. What I did was to assume that those who had had experience knew what they were about. If I have been deceived, it is apparent that those who were the best informed were equally abroad in their calculations.

Per mile.

Major Robinson's estimate, in currency, was	£8750
Mr. Wightman's	7835
Mr. Jackson's	8125
Mr. Sykes'	6500

I had never seen a mile of Railroad located

in my life, and my business was to get the work done as cheaply as I could. But mistakes are every day made by Architects and Engineers. Our Canal was to be completed for £10,000. It has cost £26,000; and £17,000 more are required to finish it. I hold in my hand a certificate, on which Messrs. Peters & Blacklock base a large claim upon the British Government, for building the new Barracks, and in which all the Engineers and Builders in the city certify that labor and materials have risen one-third in price during the last four years. Add one-third, then, to our Railway Estimates, and the amount will probably cover the cost. If the Provincial Secretary can show that our roads could have been built as well and built for less, I may be to blame. If he cannot I care not what he says.

But I will assume, for the sake of argument, that the estimate, brought down here by the present chairman of the Railway Board, with the aid of all the new light shed upon the subject by Mr. Laurie and the Provincial Secretary, is correct, and that our roads are to cost £9608 per mile, and then will show that, taking into account the character and style of the work, that we will have the cheapest roads in the world.

	Per mile.
The Belgian Railroads cost	£18,000 sterling.
German	18,000
French	26,832
English	40,000

Taking these sums in Currency and it will be seen that our roads cost less, by £12,832 than the Belgian, by £6642 than the German, by £28,932 than the French, and by £40,832 than the English. Mr. Laurie, taking his own estimate of the cost, admits that our roads will cost less by £1600 per mile than those of New York.

Let us now see how our available resources will stand, and what we can probably do with the funds at our disposal. We have £1,000,000 to be borrowed in England, 100,000 Halifax Debentures, 60,000 Province Paper, 20,000 representing 1-8 of £60,000, borrowed through the Savings Bank at 4 per cent.

£1,180,000

There is thus £1,180,000 available for Railway construction, £889,946 will be required to finish the roads to Truro and Windsor leaving £296,254 towards an extension of the line. To finish the 40 miles to Pictou, will at £9608 per mile, require £384,320, leaving £98,266 to be provided for over and above the million to be borrowed. To raise the amount ought not to tax severely the wit any Government really disposed to push the works forward, even if they do not pay pound over their working expenses.

But suppose they pay 3 per cent., we shall have but £80,000 to provide, and our 10 per cents., which must go on increasing with the growth of the country, already yield £24,000 to meet this interest, and in two or three years

will pay then, as railroads we have labour as of our own wards of the Province "none the richer in enterprise financial even if the expended will indirectly to the sur pay, you to the country now show even if the over their carried over Lake last 10 months the number Gardner on riding 100 of what it A second class add both sides dividing the appear that 100 miles in But let us when our roads travel over is it not clear £100,000 in if time be Mr. Gardner called 400 per he each of these and it should in England. the road exp These sums 500, Deduct and you have is no direct we are told the richer" Thus far, traffic only. the saving in English road day. At the days to draw even if our are not. A from Halifax back with a It is clear, that the transportation of driver and the expenses some 12,000 each year, the alone would it

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will pay the whole. Why all this outcry, then, about the country being ruined by these railroads? If they yield 6 per cent then shall we have a great productive property, a great labour saving machine, in fact, in the bosom of our country, adding, in solid capital, upwards of a million of pounds to the actual worth of the Province, and yet we are told by the Provincial Secretary that the country is "none the richer" for my labours.

"None the richer," sir. Yes, we shall be richer in honest pride—in self confidence—in enterprise—in science—in elevation of Provincial character. I have shown you that, even if the roads do not pay, the money expended will have created permanent property, indirectly of inestimable value, and fastened to the surface of our soil. That, if they do pay, you are richer by a million brought in to the country and made productive. I will now show you how much richer we shall be even if these roads do not yield a sixpence over their expenses. 65,000 persons were carried over our short road to the Grand Lake last year, and the trains ran only about 10 months. If they had run the year round the numbers would have been 75,000. Dr. Lardner calculates that a first class passenger, riding 100 miles on a railroad, saves 80s. stg. of what it would cost to carry him by coach. A second class passenger saves 17s. Now I add both sums together, and strike 7 off, and dividing the remaining sum by 2 it would appear that every passenger carried by train 100 miles in Nova Scotia will save 20s. stg. But let us make it currency and assume that, when our roads are fairly opened, 100,000 will travel over these 100 miles within the year. Is it not clear that there will be a saving of £100,000 in the mere cost of locomotion. But if time be money, let us see what that is worth. Lardner calculates, at a very low rate, that 4s 6d per head is saved in the value of time by each of these passengers. If we take it at 4s, and it should be higher in this country than in England, the saving will be £20,000, while the road expenses cannot be less than £4500. These sums added together amount to £124,500. Deduct the interest of your million, and you have £64,500 to spare, even if there is no direct revenue from the Roads. Yet we are told that the country is to be "none the richer" for the member for Windsor.

Thus far, I have spoken of Passenger traffic only. Let me turn your attention to the saving in freight. One horse will, over English roads, draw one ton 20 miles in a day. At that rate it would take a horse 6 days to draw a ton from Halifax to Picton, even if our roads were as good, which they are not. A locomotive will carry 100 tons from Halifax to Picton in 4 hours, and come back with a similar load on the same day. It is clear, then, that four days are saved in the transportation, while estimating the cost of driver and team at 10s. per day, reduces the expenses by £2 per ton each way. Suppose 12,000 tons to be carried 100 miles in each year, the saving on internal freight alone would be £48,000, which added to the

saving in passengers, would give us a clear annual gain of £112,500, after all the interest is paid. "Not richer." Yes, sir, we shall be richer. Richer in the saving of time. Richer in facilities of intercourse—in the shelter and comfort of our people, transacting the business of the country. Aye, sir, and richer in means of defence; because, by means of these roads our Provincial Militia can be rapidly concentrated for the defence of our Arsenals in time of war, or as rapidly brought to bear upon an enemy that may menace our eastern or western seaports.

But, I may be asked, will these roads pay the interest on the expenditure? I never said they would. I always said what I say now, that the honor and the interests of the Province alike required that they should be built, and I am content to wait till they are finished for a final judgment on my policy.

The Provincial Secretary told us that he held me responsible for the errors of the Chief Engineer. The Government have appointed a medical gentleman to the charge of the Lunatic Asylum. Suppose he were to poison or shoot half the patients instead of curing them, would the Provincial Secretary, having exercised his best judgment in the selection, be content to be hung for the murder?—(laughter.) In selecting a Chief Engineer the late government exercised its best judgement. He came of an honest race, and his father and grandfather had been known to this community for half a century. Of Mr. Forman personally, I knew nothing before going to Scotland, but he was a Nova Scotian, and his reputation in the country where he had studied and was employed, stood high. When he came out he brought testimonials of the first character. In the Railway Bills the Legislature made the Chief Engineer the officer of the Government, not of the Board. The Governor in Council was to approve of the lines selected before they were offered to contract. In no respect therefore can I be held answerable for errors in Engineering. I was an officer not a member of the Government. But have we not a most extraordinary spectacle presented to us just now? Certain disputes have arisen between the Board and the Contractors, since I retired from office, and a committee of seven gentlemen has been selected from this House to adjudicate upon them. Those disputes involve claims upon the Treasury to the extent of £70,000. Now, is it not clearly the duty of the Government, to defend the interests of the Province, and, at all events until they are proved to be in the wrong, to sustain their own officers? But what do we see? While that committee is conducting this investigation the Provincial Secretary comes here and attempts to break down the character of the Engineer, by declaring him totally incompetent.

Hon. Provl. Secy.—No. I studiously and carefully avoided saying anything with respect to the capacity of that officer.

Mr. Howe.—I have no desire to misrepresent, but I have on my notes the

"totally unqualified" as applied to Mr. Forman, and the Prov. Secretary did entertain us about "blanders and bog holes;" while the member for Victoria (also a member of the government) went further, and certainly did insinuate that the Windsor Road had been put in the wrong place to favor people's plaister quarries and land speculations.

Hon. Mr. Campbell also disclaimed having intended to make any attack upon Mr. Forman.

Mr. Howe was content to accept both disclaimers, and good humouredly explained the two matters referred to by Mr. Campbell. The Prov. Secretary had called upon him to "table" Earl Grey's letter. The place to do that was in England where he had published it, and where it would have been tabled on the instant, if it had been required. The learned gentleman has spoken lightly of my capacity and powers of mind. Perhaps with reason, but really, passing over all that I have done and said besides, I think I may, without vanity, place the speech at Southampton and the letters to Earl Grey, beside any Orations or State Papers that the Prov. Secretary has yet produced. I think he would stand higher in this House if he had more modesty—if, instead of ill natured declamation and verbose puerilities, he would give us sound information and logical argument.

We were told that the inter-colonial scheme failed from my blundering. I have discussed that subject at large in my letter to Mr. Hincks, and need not waste time with it now. It failed, because it was the interest of a powerful combination of English contractors and members of Parliament, that it should fail. Nobody can prove this by direct testimony, but it has been proved to everybody's satisfaction by a whole stream of evidence. Astronomers have recently ascertained the existence of some tremendous power, not yet visible by the finest instruments, but which is known to exert a marvellous controul over our planetary system. The fact can be demonstrated, though the body cannot be seen. So it must be in this case. We know that a secret and controlling power exists, and was exerted upon our Railway policy, though we may not be able to determine the moment, the agent, or the mode.

The Provincial Secretary vaunts over my defeat in Cumberland, but he well knows that, though a comparative stranger, I ran two elections in that County, and, when I had time to meet the people, carried them handsomely. He knows or might have known that my friends could have secured my return the last time, by compromise, but refused. He knows also that I was beaten because I only arrived in the County a few days before the election, many in the remote settlements believing that I was not coming at all, and was still in the United States. He may glorify himself over the victory, but really, if the humour seized me, and I had a summer

consider it any great feat to turn him out again.

That Mr. Hincks may have been disappointed at my not joining him in England is probable, but I could not be in two places at once. I was running the Cumberland Election all winter. Sir John Harvey died on the day the contest closed, and I could not leave an old officer, suddenly and unexpectedly called to administer the Government without a Provincial Secretary.

The pile of sleepers, found by Mr. Laurie and Dr. Tupper at the Long Lake are easily accounted for. Strange as it may seem, in this wooded country, we had the greatest difficulty to procure sleepers at fair prices and in reasonable time, when we commenced our Railroads. To ensure a supply at a cheap rate we imported a moveable steammill for sawing them, sold it to a man named Stewart, entering into a contract with him to take so many thousands. Delays occurred, and they were not supplied in time, and the furnishing of the sleepers was let with the later contracts. Those cut by Stewart were taken, however, and piled by the lake, where they remain as a reserve, for repairs, and for the general supply of the lines.

But we were told that Provincial Railroads will not pay—that Inter-Colonial ones are the remedy. The gentlemen opposite, having thrown away the chances of an Inter-colonial Railway when they were very fair, having failed to carry out the Jackson scheme when they had the power—some of them having opposed Railways, from first to last, with all their might, are now very anxious to give us more. What is the meaning of all this? Simply that the Provincial Secretary, having all along humbugged the people of Cumberland with great things to be done for them in the Railway line, if they would only throw me out, is very anxious to keep up the delusion. The road is on its way to Pictou; but, upon the principle on which the Irishman drove the pig, the Doctor is anxious that his constituents should believe that it is going to Cumberland.

The Prov. Secretary asked, "what had the member for Windsor to do with the introduction of Responsible Government? It grew with the growth of the country." Constitutions do not grow like beets and turnips, (and to grow them, seed and cultivation are required.) Great constitutional changes and reforms, especially when they are opposed, (and when are they not?) require the aid and combined action of politicians to carry them forward. I may not have done much, but I was, at least, an humble laborer in the field. In that Pamphlet of mine, published 19 years ago, and for which the Attorney General has so often called me to account, the new system was developed, explained and vindicated, at a time when not three men in the British Parliament, and no large number in the Colonies, understood it. I need say no more than this—that I and my friends advocated and maintained the new principles of Administration, while the friends and patrons

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of the Provincial Secretary opposed their introduction. We prevailed. The honor and the distinction of success in a good cause was ours, and we can contemplate with pride the Provinces flourishing under the system which we labored to introduce.

Mr. Howe now turned to and discussed, good humouredly, the cases of the men who had been dismissed from office. The Sovereign, under our system, must possess the power to dismiss any officer at any time. That power could, in practice, be only exercised under advice. There was no limit but the power of the Legislature, which could dismiss the advisers if it was abused, if not restrained by a sense of justice and due regard to the interests of the Province. He did not deny, then, to the Government, the right to dismiss any or all of these men, nor should he have complained if the right had been claimed and exercised without miserable attempts, in most cases, to damn and destroy the men's characters. He spoke of the Rogerses, Franchville, Logan, Davidson, Lewis, Randal Morris, as men he had long known, and who were, in the places where they lived, held in the highest esteem. He had read all that had been written, and heard all that had been said, about their dismissals, and he did not believe that either of these men had forfeited their characters, or done anything of which they ought to be ashamed. Mr. Hamilton he knew but slightly, but had understood from the Shelburne members that he maintained a fair reputation in his county; and one thing was quite apparent, from the statements made here, and from a letter addressed to Mr. Locke, which he held in his hand, that the man had not had anything like a fair investigation. Mr. Franchville, we are told, did not enjoy the confidence of the community or know one fish from another; but the true reason for his dismissal is, that he possesses so much of the people's confidence that, in a sharp contest for the County of Guysborough some time ago, the Financial Secretary only beat him by 17 votes. Randall Morris, we are told, "lived in an inconvenient place." But why not give the true reason, that, at elections, Morris himself was inconvenient. That my flag was always flying over his ship-yard, and that the friends of Provincial progress were rallied under it. Davidson, we are told, was dismissed because he had been a bankrupt 17 years ago, yet another person has been appointed to a similar office in Parrsborough, who was a bankrupt about 7 years ago. One or two of the cases were indefensible. One he could only express sorrow for, because, although it was the common one of a very young man exposed to strong temptations, it inflicted severe wounds upon his family, who were highly respected. In another case, though he was not surprised that the person had lost his office, for he had had repeated warnings, and should have paid his balance or resigned: still, there were palliating circumstances which, in dealing with him, had not been considered or fairly stated to the House. The reason given for dismissing Mr. McKenna

was, that he and Mr. Bell did not agree. But as Mr. Bell was removed before the other was dismissed, there was no danger of Mr. McKenna quarrelling with himself.

The Provincial Secretary has endeavored to shift the blame off his own shoulders, for not restoring Mr. Chandler, as he formerly endeavored to lay it upon mine for removing that officer. He tells us that the Judges would not consent to restore him. If this is not correct, then is it a mean evasion of responsibility. If it is true, there must have been good reasons for the removal. In either case Mr. Chandler is much indebted to his friend.

Before I sit down, sir, I must trouble the House with a few observations on the speeches of one or two other gentlemen, but I will endeavor to be brief. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Tobin) asks—"Was not Mr. Condon Mr. Howe's friend, a Nova Scotian not an Irishman? Where did he learn his disloyal sentiments?" I will answer the hon. gentleman. Mr. Condon was my friend, as hundreds and thousands have been, and are, from political causes leading to personal and political association. I always respected the manliness of his character, for, unlike a good many others that I could name, what he believes he is not ashamed to avow. In early life I never knew that he entertained any extreme opinions. He was a Nova Scotian, and, let me say, that I do not believe the Queen has more loyal subjects anywhere than the Nova Scotians of Irish origin, when they are let alone. But they are not let alone. They are eternally tampered with by Irish Priests, from Maynooth and elsewhere, who come out here with their ultramontane notions of religion, and hatred of England, as the staple of their politics, foreign and colonial. From these men Mr. Condon learnt his extreme opinions, and from such newspapers as the *Dublin Nation* and the *New York Citizen*. Perhaps he may not have been improved by his short residence in California. I never believed of him, however, that he would sympathize with the enemies of his country in time of war. I knew his wife's family and highly respected them, and appointed him to office, that he might remain at home and be a stay to them. The removal of this man gave me no pleasure. How could it? On the contrary, the necessity for it gave me infinite pain. Tried by any test Mr. Condon must be condemned. If my "friend" he should have telegraphed to me, and not to my enemies. If a loyal subject, he should have held no intercourse with the enemies of his country which went to thwart the policy of its Government. Hundreds of Germans came here, enlisted for the Foreign Legion. They made no complaint of being entrapped, and who ever heard of the Germans of Lunenburg endeavoring to make them desert? I do not complain that a man is a rebel, but that, being one he wants to hold the Queen's commission at the same time. Mr. Condon says in his letter that "honest Irishmen do not love the British."

do they seek or desire to retain office under it. Fancy Smith O'Brien or John Mitchell complaining that they had been dismissed from office, and the consistency of Mr. Condon may be measured, by his demanding a latitude which the men he admires would consider simply absurd.

The hon. member for Halifax, and the learned member for Sydney, deprecate all religious strife and animosity. Having provoked it, and seeing the consequences they have marvellously changed their tune. They have set the heather on fire, and now would quench it if they could. Do they not both remember the passionate appeals made by Mr. McKeagney to his co-religionists in the session of 1866, when I was not here? Long before the Railway riots, before the Crampton meeting, before a word was written or said by me offensive to Roman Catholics, did not the member for Sydney do his best to rouse their passions, and withdraw their support from the Government? Were not the Separate School clauses forced in that session, before I wrote a line? Was not Mr. McLeod driven out at the commencement and Mr. Tobin at the end of it? It is very convenient now to lay all the blame on the member for Windsor.

We are accused of bigotry and intolerance, forsooth, because we will not patronise treason and violence, separate schools and Synodical letters. Where should I learn to be a bigot? My father was a zealous Protestant all his life, yet lived on terms of mutual respect and friendship with Bishop Burke. That Prelate never taught disloyalty in his diocese, or attempted to control the education of the Province. To the day of his death the late Bishop Fraser was my own valued friend. But well I know, that if an enemy had landed on our shores, there was not a man in the province who would have sooner put himself at the head of his clansmen to resist him, than that high spirited and loyal man. Let me do justice, and acknowledge

that I believe his successor, Dr. McKinnon, would do the same. I never said, and do not now believe, that, among the Scotch and French Catholics of Nova Scotia there is any disaffection—nor did I believe, until the Russian War broke out, that any portion of the Irish Catholics would carry their old world passions and prejudices so far, as in such an emergency to sympathise with the enemies of their country. When they did, when they abetted violence and demanded separate schools, I took my ground and mean to maintain it. But I have not changed my opinions, nor my policy. I am no more of a bigot now than I ever was. No person ever knew me to wound any man's feelings or to do him any injustice on account of his creed. The learned member from Sydney tells me that he has broken the image which he formerly treasured in his heart. I cannot break so easily my pleasant pictures of the past. Old companions in arms may become estranged, unreasonable and unjust, but when they do I remember only those passages of life in which they exhibited finer characteristics. Those who have once enjoyed my confidence, or lived in my affections, are apt to live there still, whatever may be the convulsions that subsequently divide us. When I first came to this House, a near relation of the hon. member from Clare was my friend and fellow labour, in all the struggles of that period. I have not seen him for years. What he thinks of me now I know not, but he will ever dwell in my memory and I can only think of him as of a friend.

Mr. Howe then replied to the observations made upon the Enlistment question, but, as these were given at large in the report of last Session, we omit them here. He concluded by thanking the House for the patience with which they had heard him, and by the expression of a hope that he had discussed the subjects before him in a spirit of candour and moderation.

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